"Grandmother--grandchild: The grandmother, both maternal and paternal plays an intimate role in the life of the child, being little different from that of the mother. The grandmother feeds, clothes, washes, and trains the child. In the house, either mother or grandmother will attend to the baby's needs. The grandmother (or grandfather) will watch the young child when he plays, to prevent it from getting into mischief. She will carry it about with her. If he is ill, the grandmother is often more concerned than the parents. In the three cases of serious children's illness that occured while we were on the island (17) it was the grandmother who seemed to be in charge of the situation. She held the child, fed it, took care of it, etc. The grandmother also helps to train the child in the group values. Talemelemar, about five, refused to share food he was eating with Taraveligar, a boy of about seven. His grandmother rebuked him, saying that the latter was the elder of the two, and hence entitled to greater respect.

At the same time, the grandmother's relationship to the child is a very permissive one. Iliakong, about four, wished to have some object, which her grandmother [99] refused her. She then became angry and began to hit her grandmother on her legs, and her chest, after which she began to pull her nipple quite hard. The grandmother accepted this in good grace, and did nothing, except to exclaim 'yok', and jokingly called her a 'male-bush.' Another example, taken directly from my field notes, will illustrate this point. I was playing with Iliakong and Talemelemar when Iliakong's grandmother came

"17. Iliakong's epileptic seizure; Arivelibung's attack by a dog; Talavusman's deeply cut knee."

out and said she wanted to wash her. When she refused, her grandmother asked me if I could influence her, but even my prestige was of no avail this time, and she continued her play. Her grandmother began to plead with her, as she had already grated the coconut, which is used for soap, but her pleading was in vain. In the meantime Iliakong had found a button, and came to her grandmother to show it to her. Talemelemar came up behind her and knocked it out of her hand, whereupon she fell to the ground, in a terrific tantrum, screaming, kicking, swinging her arms. She then picked up some sand, and was about to throw it at me, when she saw her grandmother, and threw it at her instead. This proved to be the turning point, for she then got up laughing and singing, and meekly followed her grandmother to the lagoon to be washed. And all of this elicited no scolding or punishment."